

This record is a partial extract of the original cable. The full text of the original cable is not available.

110949Z Dec 01

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3088

PAGE 01 HARARE 03672 01 OF 05 111246Z  
ACTION AF-00

|      |         |        |         |         |         |         |         |
|------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00  | AID-00 | CIAE-00 | CTME-00 | DODE-00 | SRPP-00 | EB-00   |
|      | EXIM-01 | E-00   | VC-00   | FRB-00  | H-01    | TEDE-00 | INR-00  |
|      | ITC-01  | L-00   | AC-01   | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01  | OPIC-01 |
|      | PA-00   | PM-00  | PRS-00  | ACE-00  | P-00    | SP-00   | SSO-00  |
|      | SS-00   | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00    | USIE-00 | PMB-00  | DRL-02  |
|      | G-00    | SAS-00 | /008W   |         |         |         |         |

-----49CDA8 111246Z /48

FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0495  
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 HARARE 003672

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY  
PARIS FOR CHARLES NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/11  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [ECON](#) [PINS](#) [ZI](#)  
SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER MEETS WITH CROSS SECTION OF  
BULAWAYO SOCIETY

REF: HARARE 3643

CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL OFFICER TODD FAULK FOR REASONS:  
1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY: ON DECEMBER 9, A/S KANSTEINER MET WITH A WIDE CROSS-SECTION OF BULAWAYO SOCIETY TO DISCUSS THE RECENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THAT CITY, ONGOING GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE (GOZ) ATTEMPTS TO SUBVERT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE DETERIORATING ECONOMY AND LOOMING FOOD SHORTAGES, PASSAGE OF THE ZIMBABWE DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT (ZDERA), AND WHAT ROLE THE U.S. MIGHT PLAY IN HELPING ZIMBABWE OUT OF ITS CURRENT CRISIS. OVERALL, OUR INTERLOCUTORS PAINTED BULAWAYO, AND THE ENTIRE MATABELELAND REGION, AS AN AREA UNDER SIEGE BY THE GOZ, AND ONE LIVING IN FEAR OF MORE MUGABE-LED VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) ON DECEMBER 9, A/S KANSTEINER AND AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN, ALONG WITH SPECIAL ASSISTANT THOMAS WOODS AND POLOFF (NOTETAKER), MET WITH A WIDE CROSS-SECTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY, OPPOSITION AND LOCAL OFFICIALS IN BULAWAYO. IN SEPARATE MEETINGS, KANSTEINER MET: SHARI EPPLE, DIRECTOR OF AMANI TRUST/BULAWAYO, A WELL-RESPECTED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION; ERIC BLOCH, A PROMINENT ECONOMIST AND COLUMNIST; MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE VICE-PRESIDENT GIBSON SIBANDA, MDC SECRETARY-GENERAL WELSHMAN NCUBE, AND MDC MP FOR

SIPDIS  
BULAWAYO SOUTH DAVID COLTART; HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND "DAILY NEWS" PART-OWNER JUDITH TODD AND MICHAEL NDUBIWA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL AIDS COUNCIL; ARCHBISHOP PIUS NCUBE; AND BULAWAYO MAYOR JAPHET NDABENI-NCUBE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03672 01 OF 05 111246Z

BULAWAYO UNDER SIEGE  
-----

3. (C) NEARLY ALL THOSE A/S KANSTEINER MET WITH HAD A TALE TO TELL RELATED TO THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE THAT WRACKED BULAWAYO IN MID-NOVEMBER. MAYOR NDEBENI-NCUBE, ELECTED ON THE MDC TICKET IN SEPTEMBER, RECOUNTED HIS OWN CLOSE CALL WITH ANGRY DEMONSTRATORS ON NOVEMBER 16. SIKHANYISO NDLOVU AND DUMISO DABENGWA -- ZANU-PF POLITBURO MEMBERS WHOSE POLITICAL STARS ARE WANING, THE MAYOR STATED -- STARTED THE TROUBLE BY WHIPPING UP EMOTIONS AT A ZANU-PF YOUTH RALLY; THE MAJORITY OF THE YOUTH WERE SHIPPED IN BY TRAIN THE NIGHT BEFORE. THE GROUP OF SEVERAL HUNDRED THEN PROCEEDED TO TEAR THROUGH THE STREETS, ATTACKING BYSTANDERS AND LOOTING VENDORS OF THEIR WARES. FIFTEEN MINUTES BEFORE THEY ARRIVED AT HIS OFFICE AT CITY HALL, HE RECEIVED A PHONE CALL FROM AN MDC OPERATIVE WARNING OF THE IMPENDING DANGER. TAKING HIS REVOLVER WITH HIM, HE WAS WHISKED TO A DARK OFFICE IN A DIFFERENT PART OF THE BUILDING AND LOCKED INSIDE, THE MAYOR SAID. WHEN THE DEMONSTRATORS ARRIVED, A GROUP

OF EIGHT WAR VETERANS LED BY THEIR NATIONAL SECRETARY FOR PROJECTS ANDREW NDLOVU, SOMEHOW GOT INSIDE CITY HALL AND FORCED A SECURITY GUARD TO TAKE THEM TO THE MAYOR'S OFFICE. THEY RANSACKED THE OFFICE, TORE UP PAPERS, THREW FILES OUT THE WINDOW, AND STOLE HIS BRIEFCASE. THEY LEFT TWO LOGS ON HIS DESK, AN APPARENT WARNING THAT THEY WOULD BEAT HIM WITH THE CLUBS IF HE RETURNED, NDABENI-NCUBE STATED. THE DEMONSTRATORS, ESCORTED BY RIOT POLICE, THEN LEFT TO BURN DOWN THE MDC'S BULAWAYO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 03672 01 OF 05 111246Z  
HEADQUARTERS. SINCE THAT DAY, HE HAS RECEIVED THREATENING PHONE CALLS, AND STRANGE VEHICLES DRIVE SLOWLY BY HIS HOME AT NIGHT. ACCORDING TO SHARI EPEL, THE VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS IN BULAWAYO HAS LEFT THE MDC WITHOUT ANY ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE IN THE CITY. ALTHOUGH GRASS-ROOTS EFFORTS CONTINUE, MOST OFFICIALS HAVE FLED OR ARE IN HIDING, SHE CLAIMED.

14. (C) THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE OF NOVEMBER 16 HAD A DEEP IMPACT ON THE RESIDENTS OF THIS NORMALLY QUIET CITY. THE COMMON DENOMINATOR IN NEARLY EVERY MEETING WITH A/S KANSTEINER WAS AN EXPRESSION OF FEAR. SHARI EPEL, A LONG-TIME RESIDENT OF THE CITY, COMPARED THE ATMOSPHERE TO THE TIME OF THE "GUKURAHUNDI" MASSACRES OF THE MID-1980S. SHE COMPARED THE CASE OF A ZANU SENATOR FROM BEITBRIDGE, MURDERED IN 1984 BY HIS OWN PARTY, TO THE RECENT CASE OF CAIN NKALA, THE WAR VETERANS LEADER MOST ZIMBABWEANS BELIEVE WAS KILLED BY STATE AGENTS. SHE DESCRIBED PRESIDENT MUGABE'S NATIONAL HERO SPEECH AT NKALA'S FUNERAL AS ALMOST IDENTICAL TO THAT OF THE SENATOR'S IN 1984. THE NDEBELE ARE VERY AFRAID THAT MUGABE IS SETTING THE STAGE FOR ANOTHER "GUKURAHUNDI"-TYPE POGROM, EPEL STATED. HER ORGANIZATION, AMANI

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3094

PAGE 01 HARARE 03672 02 OF 05 111247Z  
ACTION AF-00

|      |         |        |         |         |         |         |         |
|------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00  | AID-00 | CIAE-00 | CTME-00 | DODE-00 | SRPP-00 | EB-00   |
|      | EXIM-01 | E-00   | VC-00   | FRB-00  | H-01    | TEDE-00 | INR-00  |
|      | ITC-01  | L-00   | AC-01   | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01  | OPIC-01 |
|      | PA-00   | PM-00  | PRS-00  | ACE-00  | P-00    | SP-00   | SSO-00  |
|      | SS-00   | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00    | USIE-00 | PMB-00  | DRL-02  |
|      | G-00    | SAS-00 | /008W   |         |         |         |         |

-----49CDD0 111248Z /48

O 110949Z DEC 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0496  
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 HARARE 003672

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY  
PARIS FOR CHARLES NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/11  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [ECON](#) [PINS](#) [ZI](#)  
SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER MEETS WITH CROSS SECTION OF  
BULAWAYO SOCIETY

TRUST/BULAWAYO, IS CURRENTLY FOCUSED ON EXHUMING THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 03672 02 OF 05 111247Z  
BODIES OF THE THOUSANDS KILLED BY FIFTH BRIGADE TROOPS IN THE 1980S AND TRAINING AN ARGENTINE GROUP CURRENTLY IN COUNTRY IN FORENSICS. OF THE 4,000 SO FAR EXHUMED FROM MASS GRAVES AND PROPERLY REBURIED, NEARLY ALL WERE SHOT AT CLOSE RANGE. SHE CONSERVATIVELY ESTIMATES THAT 10,000 CIVILIANS DIED IN THE GOVERNMENT'S PACIFICATION CAMPAIGN, AND THE NUMBER COULD BE AS HIGH AS 20,000. EPEL SAID THE EXHUMATION PROGRAM IS DESIGNED TO SEEK JUSTICE FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE ATROCITIES, AND THAT THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION PROCESS WITHOUT DIRECT PERSONAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE, I.E., SENIOR GOZ OFFICIALS.

15. (C) BOTH EPEL AND MDC MP DAVID COLTART APPEALED TO A/S KANSTEINER TO URGENTLY PRESS THE GOZ TO RELEASE MDC TREASURER FLETCHER DULINI-NCUBE, WHO WAS DENIED BAIL IN A DECEMBER 7 HIGH COURT RULING. DULINI-NCUBE, WHO IS 61 AND SUFFERS FROM DIABETES AND HYPERTENSION, HAS BEEN IN JAIL FOR THREE WEEKS ON CHARGES OF CONSPIRACY TO MURDER IN THE CAIN NKALA CASE. COLTART SAID THE CHARGES ARE A

COMPLETE FABRICATION AND ARE BASED SOLELY ON THE  
CONFESSIONS OF TWO YOUNG MEN, WHO LATER RECANTED THEIR  
STORIES AS COERCED UNDER TORTURE. DULINI-NCUBE'S HEALTH  
IS DECLINING RAPIDLY, AND HE HAS ALREADY LOST SIGHT IN  
ONE EYE. THE MDC IS GOING TO FILE AN APPEAL TO THE  
SUPREME COURT ON DECEMBER 10, BUT IT MAY NOT HEAR THE  
CASE BEFORE ITS CHRISTMAS ADJOURNMENT. KANSTEINER SAID  
WE WOULD MAKE THE APPEAL BASED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS  
TO GOZ OFFICIALS HE PLANS TO MEET IN HARARE. (NOTE: THE  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY LATER RAISED DULINI-NCUBE'S CASE  
WITH SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT -- AND ZANU-PF SECRETARY OF  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03672 02 OF 05 111247Z  
ADMINISTRATION -- EMMERSON MNANGAGWA. THAT CONVERSATION  
IS REPORTED SEPTTEL. END NOTE.)

MDC URGING RESTRAINT IN ITS RESPONSE  
-----

16. (C) MDC VICE-PRESIDENT GIBSON SIBANDA SAID THE GOZ  
IS DOING ITS UTMOST TO PAINT THE OPPOSITION PARTY AS  
VIOLENT. BLAMING IT FOR THE CAIN NKALA MURDER AND  
ARRESTING DOZENS OF MDC OFFICIALS WAS JUST ONE STEP.  
THE GOZ ALSO ACCUSES THE MDC OF OPERATING MILITARY  
TRAINING CAMPS IN BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH  
SIBANDA SUGGESTED IS JUST UTTER NONSENSE AND A SIGN OF  
GROWING DESPERATION ON THE PART OF MUGABE. ASKED  
WHETHER THE MDC HAS EVER PROVIDED ANY KIND OF MILITARY  
TRAINING TO ITS MEMBERS, COLTART REPLIED THAT IT HAS  
ONLY TRAINED ABOUT 10 OR 12 BODYGUARDS IN DEFENSIVE  
TACTICS TO PROTECT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. SIBANDA ADDED  
THAT IT WOULD BE SUICIDAL FOR THE MDC TO TRY TO FIGHT  
THE GOZ IN AN ARMED STRUGGLE. MAYOR NDABENI-NCUBE TOLD  
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY THAT MDC YOUTH WHO ORGANIZE  
THEMSELVES TO DEFEND AGAINST ZANU-PF BRUTES AND WAR  
VETS, SUCH AS THOSE THAT BURNED SIKHANYISO NDLOVU'S  
COLLEGE IN BULAWAYO, ARE TOLD TO AVOID ARMED POLICE AND  
SOLDIERS. KANSTEINER ASKED THE MAYOR WHETHER THE MDC  
STILL HAS CONTROL OF THE YOUTH. THE MAYOR REPLIED THAT  
IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONTROL THEM DESPITE THE ORGANIZED  
STRUCTURES IN PLACE. THE YOUTH DON'T INSTIGATE  
VIOLENCE, BUT ACT PRIMARILY IN DEFENSE, BY PATROLLING  
NEIGHBORHOODS AT NIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE. HOWEVER, IF THE  
MDC YOUTH HAD NOT ACTED AGAINST THE ZANU-PF MOBS ON  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 03672 02 OF 05 111247Z  
NOVEMBER 16, HE IS CERTAIN MUCH MORE DAMAGE WOULD HAVE  
BEFALLEN THE CITY, THE MAYOR STATED.

ELECTORAL IMPEDIMENTS INCREASING FOR MDC  
-----

17. (C) A/S KANSTEINER ASKED THE MDC OFFICIALS IF THE  
MDC INTENDS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EARLY 2002  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, EVEN IF THE ELECTORAL FIELD IS  
TILTED AGAINST THEM. VICE-PRESIDENT SIBANDA SAID THE  
MDC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE IS GOING TO MEET TO CONSIDER THE  
ISSUE, BUT IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, THE PARTY WOULD  
PARTICIPATE. "THE MDC IS THE LAST HOPE FOR MANY  
PEOPLE," HE OPINED, "AND WE WOULD BE LYNCHED IF MORGAN  
WITHDREW FROM THE RACE." NONETHELESS, WE RECOGNIZE THAT  
"THE ODDS ARE MOUNTING AGAINST US." NEW PROPOSED  
LEGISLATION, MAINLY AMENDMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL ACT, THE  
PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY BILL, AND THE ACCESS TO  
INFORMATION BILL (REFTEL) WILL HINDER THE MDC'S CAMPAIGN  
EFFORT. THE ELECTORAL ACT AMENDMENTS, FOR EXAMPLE,  
WOULD PROHIBIT THE PUTTING UP OF CAMPAIGN POSTERS,  
WELSHMAN NCUBE POINTED OUT. THE VOTER ROLLS ARE ALSO  
BEING DELIBERATELY MANIPULATED IN MATABELELAND. THE  
NDEBELE NAMES OF NEW VOTER REGISTRANTS ARE BEING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3096

PAGE 01 HARARE 03672 03 OF 05 111248Z  
ACTION AF-00

|      |         |        |         |         |         |         |         |
|------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00  | AID-00 | CIAE-00 | CTME-00 | DODE-00 | SRPP-00 | EB-00   |
|      | EXIM-01 | E-00   | VC-00   | FRB-00  | H-01    | TEDE-00 | INR-00  |
|      | ITC-01  | L-00   | AC-01   | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01  | OPIC-01 |
|      | PA-00   | PM-00  | PRS-00  | ACE-00  | P-00    | SP-00   | SSO-00  |
|      | SS-00   | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00    | USIE-00 | PMB-00  | DRL-02  |
|      | G-00    | SAS-00 | /008W   |         |         |         |         |

-----49CDE7 111248Z /48

O 110949Z DEC 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0497  
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 HARARE 003672

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY  
PARIS FOR CHARLES NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/11

TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [ECON](#) [PINS](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER MEETS WITH CROSS SECTION OF  
BULAWAYO SOCIETY

DELIBERATELY MISSPELLED OR CHANGED INTO SHONA  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 03672 03 OF 05 111248Z  
EQUIVALENTS WITHOUT THE REGISTRANT'S KNOWLEDGE, AND  
DIGITS ARE BEING DROPPED FROM NATIONAL ID NUMBERS, WHICH  
WILL MAKE IT NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE VOTERS'  
REGISTRATION TO BE LOCATED WHEN THEY GO TO VOTE,  
ACCORDING TO NCUBE. COLTART ADDED THAT STUDENTS  
REGISTERING IN THE CITIES ARE BEING TURNED AWAY IN  
DROVES BECAUSE OF A LACK OF NUMEROUS DOCUMENTS PROVING  
RESIDENCY. ABOUT 600,000 POTENTIAL FIRST-TIME VOTERS  
COULD BE DISENFRANCHISED FROM THE VOTE AS RESULT, HE  
SAID. THE MDC PLANS TO FILE A CASE WITH THE SUPREME  
COURT ON DECEMBER 10 TO CHALLENGE THE GOZ'S INTENTION TO  
REQUIRE ALL VOTERS TO VOTE IN THEIR CONSTITUENCY; THE  
CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR A COMMON VOTER ROLL THAT  
SHOULD PERMIT A VOTER TO CAST A BALLOT ANYWHERE IN THE  
COUNTRY, NCUBE STATED.

18. (C) MAYOR NDABENI-NCUBE WAS EQUIVOCAL ABOUT THE  
MDC'S CHANCES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, SAYING THAT  
THE "ARITHMETIC" WAS ON THE MDC'S SIDE, BUT THE GOZ'S  
MANIPULATION OF THE VOTERS' ROLL COULD TIP THE BALANCE  
IN MUGABE'S FAVOR. MATABELELAND, MANICALAND, AND THE  
URBAN AREAS ARE WRITE-OFFS FOR ZANU-PF AS THE MDC WILL  
WIN 90 PERCENT OF THESE AREAS, HE PREDICTED. TSVANGIRAI  
WILL WIN 70 PERCENT OF MIDLANDS, AND 50 PERCENT OF  
MASVINGO, WHERE HE WILL GET A BOOST FROM THE NON-  
CAMPAIGNING OF THE ZVOBGO ZANU-PF FACTION. MASHONALAND  
WILL GARNER FEWER THAN 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTES FOR THE  
OPPOSITION LEADER. THESE NUMBERS WOULD PUT TSVANGIRAI  
IN THE WIN COLUMN WERE IT NOT FOR THE GOZ'S TILTING OF  
THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN MUGABE'S FAVOR, THE MAYOR  
OFFERED.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03672 03 OF 05 111248Z

ECONOMY SHRINKS AS FOOD SHORTAGES GROW  
-----

19. (C) ONE OF THE KEY FACTORS IN MUGABE'S DECLINING  
POPULARITY HAS BEEN THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING ECONOMY  
AND THE COUNTRY'S FOOD SECURITY ALONG WITH IT, ACCORDING  
TO ERIC BLOCH, A WIDELY RESPECTED ECONOMIST AND  
COLUMNIST BASED IN BULAWAYO. A LOT OF FARMERS ARE  
WAITING TO SEE IF THE GOZ CARRIES OUT ITS STATED  
INTENTION TO TAKE OVER NEARLY ALL THE COUNTRY'S  
COMMERCIAL FARMS. THE REAPING OF TOBACCO IS DUE TO  
BEGIN IN MID-DECEMBER, BUT FARMERS MAY DECIDE NOT TO IF  
THERE IS NO EXPECTATION OF KEEPING THEIR FARMS, WHICH  
WILL HAVE MAJOR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COUNTRY'S FOREX  
FUTURE. THERE IS CURRENTLY ONLY US\$30 MILLION PER MONTH  
COMING INTO ZIMBABWE, AND NO MORE THAN US\$50 TO 60  
MILLION PER MONTH MAY BE EXPECTED IN APRIL WHEN THE  
TOBACCO SALES BEGIN (US\$100 MILLION/MONTH IS NORMAL).

10. (C) BLOCH SAID IN JUNE HE ACCOMPANIED FINANCE  
MINISTER SIMBA MAKONI TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
WHERE MAKONI STATED THAT LITTLE CAN BE DONE TO SAVE THE  
ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY UNLESS THREE THINGS HAPPEN: 1) LAW  
AND ORDER IS RESTORED, I.E. SQUATTERS ARE REMOVED FROM  
FARMS, 2) THE GOZ "STOPS CHANGING ITS POLICIES AS OFTEN  
AS WE CHANGE OUR UNDERWEAR," AND 3) EVERY FARMER IS ABLE  
TO PLANT AND HARVEST HIS CROP IN SECURITY. ABSENT THAT,  
MAKONI IS SPENDING MONEY HE DOES NOT HAVE TO KEEP THE  
ECONOMY AFLOAT. GOZ DEBT HAS SOARED TO BETWEEN 15 AND  
19 PERCENT OF GDP. TO RAISE MORE CAPITAL, HE WILL HAVE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 03672 03 OF 05 111248Z  
TO GO AFTER INSURANCE COMPANIES AND PENSION FUNDS BY  
INCREASING THEIR AMOUNT OF PROSCRIBED ASSETS.  
CURRENTLY, 45 PERCENT OF THEIR ASSETS ARE REQUIRED TO BE  
IN GOVERNMENT T-BILLS.

11. (C) ON THE FOOD SECURITY FRONT, ZIMBABWE WILL  
REQUIRE 500 MILLION TONS OF MAIZE BETWEEN NOW AND EARLY  
2003 TO COVER THE PREDICTED SHORTFALLS OF DOMESTIC  
PRODUCTION, BLOCH PREDICTED; PLANTINGS NOW IN THE  
COMMERCIAL AREAS ARE ONLY 60 PERCENT OF WHAT THEY WERE  
LAST YEAR. NEXT YEAR, THERE WILL BE A GAP IN MAIZE  
AVAILABILITY BETWEEN MARCH AND MAY. WHOEVER WINS THE

ELECTION IS GOING TO HAVE A TERRIBLE PROBLEM ON HIS HANDS, BLOCH OPINED. IT'S NOT TOO LATE FOR MUGABE TO TURN THINGS AROUND IF HE STARTS SAYING, AND DOING, THE RIGHT THINGS NOW, THE ECONOMIST SUGGESTED. PRINCIPALLY, HE MUST: 1) GO BACK TO A MARKET ECONOMY BY ABANDONING PRICE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS, 2) CLEAR OUT THE FARM SQUATTERS AND ARREST THE PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE, AND 3) CUT BACK ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING -- A CUTBACK IN THE BUDGET OF THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE WOULD BE A SIGN OF COMMITMENT. IF THESE THINGS HAPPENED, THE ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY COULD START TO TURN AROUND FAIRLY QUICKLY, ESPECIALLY IN THE MANUFACTURING EXPORT SECTOR. SOME

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3144

PAGE 01 HARARE 03672 04 OF 05 111257Z  
ACTION AF-00

|      |         |        |         |         |         |         |         |
|------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00  | AID-00 | CIAE-00 | CTME-00 | DODE-00 | SRPP-00 | EB-00   |
|      | EXIM-01 | E-00   | VC-00   | FRB-00  | H-01    | TEDE-00 | INR-00  |
|      | ITC-01  | L-00   | AC-01   | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01  | OPIC-01 |
|      | PA-00   | PM-00  | PRS-00  | ACE-00  | P-00    | SP-00   | SSO-00  |
|      | SS-00   | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00    | USIE-00 | PMB-00  | DRL-02  |
|      | G-00    | SAS-00 | /008W   |         |         |         |         |

-----49CF50 111257Z /48

O 110949Z DEC 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0498  
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 HARARE 003672

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY  
PARIS FOR CHARLES NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/11  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PHUM](#) [ECON](#) [PINS](#) [ZI](#)  
SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER MEETS WITH CROSS SECTION OF  
BULAWAYO SOCIETY

FIRMS COULD START EXPORTING AGAIN IN AS LITTLE AS A FEW  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 03672 04 OF 05 111257Z  
WEEKS. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE MANUFACTURING EXPORT  
SECTOR MAY TURN AROUND QUICKLY, THE MAINSTAY OF THE  
ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY REMAINS COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE, AND  
IT WILL LIKELY TAKE YEARS FOR IT TO RECOVER. END  
COMMENT.)

ARCHBISHOP: DO NOT EXPECT A REVOLUTION

12. (C) THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, AND MATABELELAND IN PARTICULAR, ARE SO SCARED, THEY WILL NOT RISE UP AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN IF MUGABE WINS RE-ELECTION, ARCHBISHOP PIUS NCUBE TOLD THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY. (NOTE: NCUBE, WHO HIMSELF LEFT ZIMBABWE LAST YEAR BECAUSE OF DEATH THREATS, STOOD WITH THE A/S DELEGATION AS IT ARRIVED AND BRIEFLY KEPT THEM OUTSIDE HIS OFFICE BUILDING, APPARENTLY SO THAT SUSPECTED CIO AGENTS IN THE CATHEDRAL COMPOUND COULD SEE THAT HE WAS MEETING WITH AMERICAN OFFICIALS. END NOTE.) THE ARCHBISHOP PREDICTED THAT THE VIOLENCE WILL INTENSIFY BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, WHICH WILL NOT BE FREE AND FAIR. EVEN THOUGH EDUCATED AND UNEDUCATED ZIMBABWEANS ALIKE ARE VERY UNHAPPY, THEY WILL NOT RISE UP AGAINST THE GOZ UNLESS THEY ARE LED. MDC PRESIDENT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI IS TOO WEAK TO LEAD THEM, AS HE HIMSELF IS INTIMIDATED BY THE GOZ, NCUBE OPINED. NCUBE WOULD BE EQUALLY OPPOSED TO THE MDC IF IT PROVED TO BE JUST AS CORRUPT AS ZANU-PF, HE ADDED. WHEN ASKED IF THERE IS A CHANCE FOR MUGABE TO BACK OUT OF THE ELECTION, THE ARCHBISHOP SAID "NO;" ONCE HIS PARTY WINS RE-ELECTION, HOWEVER, MUGABE WILL HAND OVER POWER TO ANOTHER PARTY STALWART.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 03672 04 OF 05 111257Z

ZIMBABWE DEMOCRACY ACT

13. (C) MANY OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS EXPRESSED THANKS TO A/S KANSTEINER AND THE USG FOR PASSING THE ZIMBABWE DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT (ZDERA). IN AN OPEN DISCUSSION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST JUDITH TODD AND AIDS NATIONAL COUNCIL CHAIRMAN MIKE NDUBIWA (A LONG-TIME ZANU-PF MEMBER WHO WAS AS ANTI-ZANU AS ANYONE WE MET),

KANSTEINER EXPLAINED THE PROVISIONS OF THE ZDERA AND THAT IT IS UP TO THE ADMINISTRATION TO IMPLEMENT ANY SANCTIONS. TODD ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO THREATEN SANCTIONS JUST BEFORE THE ZANU-PF CONFERENCE BEGINS DECEMBER 14 AND BEFORE THE AMENDMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL ACT ARE PASSED IN PARLIAMENT (TODD REPORTED THAT THE BILL IS DUE TO BE INTRODUCED DECEMBER 18). AFTER THESE DATES, SHE SAID, IT WOULD BE TOO LATE TO INFLUENCE ANY POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE GOZ'S COURSE OF ACTION. AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS AN ARGUMENT AGAINST USING THE SANCTIONS "STICK" NOW -- WE WON'T HAVE ANY OTHERS ONCE IT IS USED, AND IT COULD FORCE MUGABE INTO A CORNER WITH NO ESCAPE ROUTES. NDUBIWA MAINTAINED THAT "PULLING THE TRIGGER" OF SANCTIONS SHOULD BE A PROCESS RATHER THAN AN EVENT. CERTAINLY, THREATS OF USING SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE, BUT THEIR ULTIMATE USE SHOULD NOT BE LINKED TO ANY ONE ACTION, SUCH AS PASSAGE OF THE ELECTORAL ACT AMENDMENTS.

HOW CAN WE BEST HELP ZIMBABWE?

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 03672 04 OF 05 111257Z

14. (C) WHEN ASKED HOW THE U.S. COULD HELP ZIMBABWE AT THIS POINT, MDC VICE-PRESIDENT SIBANDA STATED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE COULD DO IS TELL PRESIDENT MUGABE IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT WE WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE THE ELECTION OUTCOME IF THE ELECTION WAS NOT FREE AND FAIR. MUGABE WANTS THIS RECOGNITION MORE THAN ANYTHING, SIBANDA SAID. USING OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE REGIONAL STATES WOULD HELP, BUT AMONG THE SADC STATES, ONLY SOUTH AFRICA CAN APPLY SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON MUGABE TO CHANGE HIS WAYS. SHARI EPPLE OF AMANI TRUST OPINED THAT APPLYING PRESSURE TO THE SADC STATES TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST MUGABE IS KEY TO CHANGING HIS BEHAVIOR. SIBANDA APPEALED FOR HELP WITH MDC FINANCES, WHICH HE SAID WERE BEING DRAINED BY GOZ ACTIONS, SUCH AS THE TORCHING OF ITS BULAWAYO OFFICES AND LEGAL CASES. THE MDC IS SPENDING BETWEEN ZIM\$5 MILLION AND \$7 MILLION (US\$16,000 AND \$23,000) ON LEGAL FEES; IT HAS SO FAR SPENT ZIM\$1.3 MILLION (US\$4,000) ON FLETCHER DULINI-NCUBE'S CASE ALONE. THEY SAID IT WOULD HELP IF THE U.S. COULD ASSIST IN FINDING NGOS THAT COULD PROVIDE LEGAL ASSISTANCE OR FUNDS FOR LEGAL EXPENSES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3091

PAGE 01 HARARE 03672 05 OF 05 111247Z  
ACTION AF-00

|      |         |        |         |         |         |         |         |
|------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| INFO | LOG-00  | AID-00 | CIAE-00 | CTME-00 | DODE-00 | SRPP-00 | EB-00   |
|      | EXIM-01 | E-00   | VC-00   | FRB-00  | H-01    | TEDE-00 | INR-00  |
|      | ITC-01  | L-00   | AC-01   | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OMB-01  | OPIC-01 |
|      | PA-00   | PM-00  | PRS-00  | ACE-00  | P-00    | SP-00   | SSO-00  |
|      | SS-00   | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | T-00    | USIE-00 | PMB-00  | DRL-02  |
|      | G-00    | SAS-00 | /008W   |         |         |         |         |

-----49CDC1 111247Z /48

O 110949Z DEC 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0499  
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 HARARE 003672

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY  
PARIS FOR CHARLES NEARY  
NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/11  
TAGS: PGOV PREL PHUM ECON PINS ZI  
SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER MEETS WITH CROSS SECTION OF  
BULAWAYO SOCIETY

15. (U) THE A/S KANSTEINER DELEGATION CLEARED THIS  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 03672 05 OF 05 111247Z  
CABLE.

SULLIVAN

CONFIDENTIAL

>